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ANTHONY TROLLOPE AND THE CLASSICS (Jones)

ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

GREEK LIFE AND THOUGHT

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MEMORANDA

The November number of *Education* will again be a classical issue edited by Professor B. L. Ullman of the University of Chicago. Besides the editor, contributors will include J. W. D. Skiles, Elizabeth Crozer, Sister Francis Joseph, M. M. Westington, G. A. Land, Sister Mary Joseph Aloysius, H. M. Poteat, N. J. DeWitt, and A. M. Withers. Copies may be ordered in limited numbers at fifty cents each, Palmer Co., 370 Atlantic Avenue, Boston.

The Congressional Record printed in its issue of March 24 a brief tribute to the Greek Independence Day in which Hon. Herman P. Eberharter reminded the House of Representatives of the historical effectiveness of the Greek merchant marine and other services.

The former President of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, Professor Moses Hadas of Columbia University, receives a compliment in an anecdote in *The Saturday Review of Literature* (27.27.17). None of his former pupils will be surprised to learn that the trait chosen by the astute SRL for perpetuation in its files is the professor's "most innocent expression."

The seventy books recently listed by Princeton University Press as recommended by Faculty and administrative officers for service men include the World's Classics Sophocles, the Everyman Thucydides, the Everyman Confessions of St. Augustine, the Modern Library edition of the Butcher-Lang Odyssey, and the volume of Plato from the same series. What would you have added or omitted? It is a breach of patriotism that we do not have a neat and compact one-volume edition of the noble American version of the Iliad by William Cullen Bryant. Among available versions, the Everyman edition of the Fairfax Taylor translation of the Aeneid deserves far wider acquaintance among appreciative readers.

From a temporary address in Newark, one of our favorite CW reporters submits a paragraph on the classical interests of the late Arthur Henry Buller, who was Professor Emeritus in the University of Manitoba. Researches in the relation of human baldness and pityrosporon melassez, according to C. Howard Smith, were made the subject of a jingle for the Royal Society of Canada by the famous botanist:

Julius Caesar, who conquered all Gaul,
Suffered defeat from an enemy small,
The spore of melassez, whose armies, well led,
Removed all the hairs from the crown of his head.

A Classical Conference directed by Professor Mark E. Hutchinson at Cornell College, May 12-3, brought together teachers from 17 colleges and 23 schools. Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Missouri and North Dakota were all represented. The interest is described as "most heartening to all who are concerned with the humanities."

Professor Walter R. Agard of the University of Wisconsin spoke twice on educational trends and lectured on Classical Mythology in Modern Sculpture and on The Aeneid as Contemporary History. Norman Johnson of Knox College, Sister Mary Joseph Aloysius of Clarke College, Ortha L. Wilner of Milwaukee Teachers College, Mars M. Westington of Hanover College, C. C. Mierow of Carleton College, J. W. D. Skiles of Westminster College, and A. M. Rovelstad of the University of North Dakota participated in the program. Among teachers who spoke were Mrs. Edna H. Miller of Roosevelt High School, Chicago, Harriet Echternach of Sterling, Illinois, Elizabeth Crozer of Mt. Clemens, Michigan, James Kirkpatrick of Evanston, Illinois, and several Iowa teachers, Marian MacKenzie of Monticello, Ann E. Miller of Fort Madison, Faith Kurtzweil of Waterloo, and Mrs. Edna Bestor of Newton.

ANTHONY TROLLOPE AND THE CLASSICS

For a student of the classics in America today, where Latin and Greek are the stepchildren of the colleges, there is a nostalgic pleasure in looking back to Mid-Victorian England where their position was as yet unassailed. To be sure, heterodox voices were raised even then to question the preeminence of the ancient languages in schools and colleges: attempts were made to introduce the study of English literature and natural science or to increase the attention paid to mathematics, modern history and the modern languages.¹ But few suggested making Greek and Latin elective or supposed that a gentleman could be called educated or even a gentleman without them.² In 1850 there was only one French master at Eton and the boys were not required to touch their hats to him, as they did to the classical masters.³ Men still rode off to hounds with Latin tags

¹The most notable was that of Arnold at Rugby, but similar innovations had been made at Shrewsbury under Samuel Butler (1798-1839), and it was the practice of Hawtrey at Eton (1834-53) to illustrate the classics by quotations from modern literature, with which he had a wide acquaintance. However, there was nothing thoroughgoing about these reforms, nor did they extend beyond the borders of the single school. De Quincey in the *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* accused the public schools of a "wilful and intentional disregard" of modern literature, and T. H. Huxley noted with alarm that a boy might finish any one of them and "never have heard that the earth goes around the sun" (*Science and Education*, 93). It was not until the recommendation of a Royal Commission had resulted in the Public Schools Act of 1868 that mathematics, modern languages and natural science were given a place in the curriculum. And that place, though assured, was minor, for Greek and Latin continued to make up the core of every student's program. For an account of the many controversies of the period, see the chapter "Education" in *The Cambridge History of English Literature XIV*. The four-volume report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools, London 1864 is a mine of information about actual teaching of classics in the middle of the century. Among the most informative of many articles that appeared in magazines are two by "Paterfamilias" in the *Cornhill Magazine* for 1860: 1.608-15; 2.641-9.

²Herbert Spencer was eager to do away with Greek and Latin entirely, to substitute for them "useful" subjects. He pronounced geology much more important than Greek and granted Latin only a "quasi-intrinsic" value because of the "extra knowledge of our own language" which "an acquaintance with it might give." Sir Josiah Mason in founding his Scientific College at Birmingham expressly stipulated that "mere literary instruction and education" by which he meant Greek and Latin were to be excluded. Huxley, however, who is sometimes thought of as the outstanding opponent of a liberal culture, demanded only parity for science and frequently paid high tribute to the classical discipline (cf. *Science and Education*, 141, 182, 186-7, 211-2).

³*Cornhill Magazine* 1 (1860) 610. The School is called "Harchester" but Eton seems to be meant. Before 1864 French was an extra at Eton and though the French master was well paid he had no authority; Mr. Henry Tarver told the Royal Commissioners in 1862 that he was "a mere *objet de luxe*" (Report 1.84). It was not until 1869 that the teachers of French, mathematics and science were put on the same footing as the classical masters.

on their lips; Prime Ministers improved their leisure with translations of Homer and Horace;⁴ and people were not greatly shocked to be told that a new edition of a Greek play could win a scholarly clergyman a bishopric.⁵

It is easy enough to examine and evaluate the achievements of the great scholars of the period. The work of such men as Grote is well known and fit to stand with the work of scholars of other countries and other ages. But the eminence of a scholar does not make a safe criterion to measure the general level of culture among his contemporaries, and to find out just how much the average man with a classical education in the time of Victoria really knew of Greek and Latin is a much more difficult task. Since a statistical study would at this late date be impossible, perhaps the most fruitful procedure would be to choose for examination some individual as typical of his age, someone who was primarily a gentleman rather than a scholar. For such a purpose Anthony Trollope is admirably suited. His life reflects in a great degree the two most prized of Victorian virtues, respectability and worldly success. His writing, though it brought him an average of 2864 pounds a year,⁶ he treated more as a source of income than an end in itself, and he never allowed it to interfere seriously with his life as a civil servant or a country gentleman. His rank among novelists is still open to question, but critics agree that for an accurate portrayal of the life of his times his novels are better than the most elaborate of sociological studies. If you were to be transported back to Victorian England you could find no better guidebook to society, especially upperclass society, than the novels of Trollope.

Among the characters, an acquaintance with the classics marks the division, first, between the sexes and, second, between those who were gentlemen and those who were not. Of the many tradesmen, farmers, grooms and inkeepers who peopled Trollope's Barsetshire and London, there was none who knew Latin or Greek; and, conversely, among the gentry there was no one who did not know at least a little, from the Honourable John de Courcy, who learned enough at Eton to be able to understand a joke about the Latin inscription on a tombstone,⁷ to the Reverend Mr. Crawley, who knew the *Antigone* by heart and expressed his exultation in

⁴E.g., Gladstone and Lord Derby. Viscount Thrift, the First Lord of the Admiralty, in Trollope's *Phineas Finn*, is described as "an industrious, honest, self-denying nobleman, who works without ceasing from morn to night, and who hopes to rise in time to high things—to the translating of Homer, perhaps, and the wearing of the Garter" (Book II, Chap. IV).

⁵Trollope, *Clergymen of the Church of England*, 21.

⁶Between 1855 and 1879; in the *Autobiography* Trollope lists the exact number of pounds, shillings and pence he received from each of his works.

⁷Dr. Thorne, Vol. I, Chap. IV.

his triumph over the bishop by chanting the choruses from the Seven Against Thebes.⁸

With one shining exception the women of the novels know no more of Latin and Greek than do the tradesmen. Ladies in Victorian times were given just enough education to enable them to grace a drawing room and catch a husband. For such a purpose, French, Italian, music and painting were considered sufficient. More would have ruined the chances of a woman for matrimony. Such women as Elizabeth Barrett and Florence Nightingale, who did know Greek, were exceptions and by no means represent the ideal of the period. The popular notion of a learned lady was Miss Blimber in *Dombey and Son*. "There was no light nonsense about Miss Blimber," Dickens says. "She kept her hair short and crisp, and wore spectacles. She was dry and sandy with working in the graves of deceased languages. None of your live languages for Miss Blimber. They must be dead—stone dead—and then Miss Blimber dug them up like a Ghoul."

A real lady was content to remain ignorant of dead languages and in her presence a gentleman would no more think of quoting them than of smoking a cigar. The feeling is well expressed in a conversation between Sophia Furnival and Madeline Stavely in *Orley Farm*:

"If Mr. Mason were to talk Greek to you, you would not think him clever."

"I should not understand him, you know."

"Of course not: but you would understand that he was a blockhead to show off his learning in that way."

If some acquaintance with the classics was felt desirable for a young lady, she could get it from a translation, or, better still, from one of the many books about literature and history that were making their appearance during the period. Thus Mrs. Mason of Groby Park, who named her three daughters Diana, Penelope and Creusa, was able to "indulge a passion for classic literature . . . by a use of Lempriere's dictionary." Lady Carberry, the scheming authoress of "Criminal Queens" in *The Way We Live Now*, for information about Cleopatra and Julia and other criminal queens of antiquity went to the *Biographie Universelle* whenever she failed to find sufficient material in Shakespeare or Gibbon. And Trollope says of his own popularization of the Commentaries of Caesar: "A well-educated girl who had read it and remembered it would perhaps know as much about Caesar and his writings as she need know."

With such a background the Victorian reader must have been startled to learn that Grace Crawley, who had been taught Greek by her father because he had noth-

ing but a good education to give her, and who had continued the study because there was nothing else to do in her sad home, had been chosen as the heroine of the *Last Chronicle of Barset* and was destined to become the bride of Major Grantley, a country squire and the second son of the wealthy and aristocratic Archdeacon of Plumstead. Now, Grace Crawley was no Miss Blimber. On the contrary, Mrs. Thorne said she was perfect not only in beauty but in manners and accomplishments. Lady Lufton called her "downright handsome"; and the Archdeacon himself, who had a connoisseur's eye for feminine loveliness, could not resist kissing her at their first interview. There is no doubt about the beauty and it almost seems as if Trollope, who liked his heroines rather plain than pretty, had endowed Grace with it to counterbalance the Greek.

Trollope, as well as his characters, felt that a knowledge of Latin was one of the hallmarks of a gentleman. Escott describes him at Highclere, Lord Carnarvon's house in Hampshire, as "taking an innocent boyish pleasure . . . in quietly letting it be known that he could read at least Roman authors otherwise than after Colonel Newcome's fashion—in a translation."⁹ And the pleasure of quoting was extended into his books, which among themselves furnish a very respectable collection of Latin tags.¹⁰ When Trollope first came to London as an underpaid clerk in the General Post Office

⁹T. H. S. Escott, *Anthony Trollope, His Work, Associates and Originals*, London 1913, 289. Escott notes that among those who were impressed by Trollope's learning was the poet Browning.

¹⁰Besides direct quotations and allusions whose point would be lost on anyone who did not know Latin, Trollope made copious use, especially in the early novels, of the paraphernalia of Greek mythology. In *The Warden*, Eleanor Hardy is Iphigenia, the office of the London Times, Mt. Olympus, and Mr. Quiverful, a "wretched clerical Priam." At the various minor crises in the plot he liked to employ an Homeric simile, to invoke the Muses, or to address one of his characters by name as Homer sometimes did his heroes. In *Dr. Thorne*, the famous encounter between Dr. Fillgrave and Dr. Thorne is compared to that between Hector and Achilles, and in the same novel Frank Gresham descends with his horsewhip on the dastardly Mr. Moffat, Trollope addressing the victim: "Oh, Mr. Moffat, Mr. Moffat! If there be any goddess to interfere in thy favour, let her come forward without delay. Let her now bear thee off on a cloud if there be one to whom thou art sufficiently dear!" But nowhere is the epic technique so evident as in *Barchester Towers*. Saintsbury called it a "prose comic epic" (*Essays and Studies* by members of the English Association, Oxford 1920, VI.53). Dr. Proudie is pictured as playing Venus to the Archdeacon's Juno, the apple being the bishopric; in an elaborate simile the destruction of Mrs. Proudie's train by Madeleine's sofa is compared to the dynamiting of a granite battery, Mrs. Proudie's wrath is compared to that of Juno when her beauty was despised, and she herself to a tigress bereft of her young; Mrs. Proudie again becomes the Medea of Barchester who planned to eat Mr. Slope as the Colchians did their captives. The value of Trollope's epic allusions as a type of humor would today be questioned. As Trollope's generation seem to have liked it, the author must have known that a knowledge of the classics was shared by his readers.

⁸*Last Chronicle of Barset*, Vol. II, Chap. XII; Vol. I, Chap. XIII. Others who can make a claim to scholarship are Lucius Mason of Orley Farm, the Rev. Dr. Wortle of Dr. Wortle's School and Lucius Mackenzie, the wretched drunkard in "The Spotted Dog," one of the short stories published in *An Editor's Tales*. Of the three, Mackenzie is the only one whose scholarship is important to the plot.

he had no money for dissipation and used to improve at least part of his leisure studying Latin, which in spite of his public-school education he had never actually learned. It was in 1840, Escott says, when he was twenty-five years old, that he discovered he could read Horace and Cicero with pleasure as literature. From that time on he never entirely ceased the reading of Latin, and after 1870 he tells us that he "almost daily spent an hour with some Latin author and on many days many hours." Cicero and Horace remained his favorites. He carried a volume of the Odes with him on his tour of Iceland in 1878;¹¹ and in 1880, two years before this death, published his *Life of Cicero* (two vols., Chapman-Hall, London 1880; Am. edition, Harper's 1881).

His scholarly ambitions had first been aroused in 1851 by his friend, John Merivale, the brother of the historian, whose *History of the Romans under the Empire* was at that time beginning to appear in print. Trollope entered into a correspondence with John Merivale about it and soon found himself fascinated by the problem of Caesar's character. He read the *Commentaries* again, went through "a mass of other reading" and finally produced two articles for the *Dublin University Magazine* (37, May 1851, 611-24; 43, July 1856, 30-47), the first dealing largely with Julius Caesar, the second with Augustus. Trollope found both the Caesars antipathetic. He was opposed to imperialism, ancient and modern, and as a novelist felt that success was no true indication of character. To him, Julius Caesar was a cold-blooded opportunist, and he characterized Augustus as above all Romans "subtle, cruel, ambitious, and unscrupulous." About the two articles he says, characteristically (*Autobiography*, Chap. VI): "They were the result of very much labour, but there came from them no pecuniary product." His next classical venture, the *Commentaries of Julius Caesar*, did not appear until fourteen years later, in the year 1870, and there was no pecuniary product from it either, this time because, with unparalleled generosity, he gave the copyright as a birthday present to his friend and publisher, Blackwood. In this book Trollope aimed to make available to the unlearned reader what ought to be known about Caesar, his character and campaigns. A rather long introduction is followed by a résumé of the *Commentaries* written in an informal style with a minimum of military details and no suggestion of scholarly controversy. His estimate of Caesar had not changed in the nineteen years since he first approached the problem. Indeed his antipathy seems to have deepened as he became acquainted with the hero-worship of Mommsen and Froude. It seems also to have been partly in reaction to Mommsen and Froude that he was driven to his warm-hearted and enthusiastic championing of Cicero. He had always liked Cicero, admired him as a patriot and forgiven him

his faults and weaknesses. He read extensively in the orations, letters, and philosophical works, and from his reading the character of Cicero assumed in his mind the reality of a character in one of his own novels. As in the *Commentaries*, he failed to bring any gifts of scholarship to bear upon historical problems; in fact he seldom seemed aware that problems existed. But his understanding of human nature in general and his sympathy for Cicero gave his interpretation a vitality and conviction that are lacking in the works of profounder scholars. His preliminary studies resulted in two articles for the *Fortnightly* on "Cicero as a Politician" and "Cicero as a Man of Letters" (27, April 1877, 495-515; 28, Sept. 1877, 401-22). Showing the same gifts of interpretation they are at the same time written in a style more compact and less repetitious than that of the *Life*.

Into his writings on Roman subjects Trollope had put a great deal of time and effort and he felt that the public received them coldly. It would seem that he was overly sensitive, for the public for whom he habitually wrote received them very well on the whole; and it was only natural, as he tells us himself (*Autobiography*, Chap. XVIII), that scholars should resent the intrusion of an amateur into their midst. He was especially hurt by the reception given the *Commentaries* of Caesar. When an old friend (whom some have identified as Merivale) acknowledged receipt of his copy with "thanks for your comic Caesar," Trollope says it was as if he had "run a dagger into me" (*Autobiography*, Chap. VIII). However, it won for him the commendation and the friendship of W. L. Collins, the editor of the series, and the praise as well as the gratitude of John Blackwood, who wrote, "I value it the more because I have looked this gift-horse in the mouth" (Escott, 284). Of the three published reviews I have seen, the *Athenaeum* (June 11, 1870) saw no good in it at all, but the *Spectator* (June 1870) and the *Contemporary Review* (Oct. 1870) were generally laudatory and felt that Trollope had been successful in what he set out to do. The *Life of Cicero* received much wider notice in the press. I have found only two reviews that condemned it outright against six that gave it praise. W. Warde Fowler, writing in the *Academy* for Feb. 5, 1881, expressed the consensus of opinion when he regretted Trollope's lack of scholarship but gave him credit for producing "a real, living Cicero." The reviewer for the *Athenaeum* (Aug. 1881), in whose pages the *Commentaries* had been so roundly condemned, gave him almost unqualified praise, finding even his scholarship "quite equal to the task."

Judged only as a classical scholar, Trollope cannot claim a very high rank, but as a classical scholar who published, in addition to his studies, 47 novels, five volumes of short stories, five volumes of essays, four travel books, two biographies, and an autobiography (besides two plays which were never produced and a great many

¹¹*Fortnightly Review* 30 (1878) 183.

magazine contributions listed in the bibliography by Mary Leslie Irwin, New York 1926), he is unique. Trollope was proud of his output and compared it to Varro's (Autobiography, Chap. XX).

In view of these achievements no one can seriously doubt that at least his reading knowledge of Latin was extensive. Some of his critics accused him of mistranslating Latin. It is quite possible that he did, but I have not thought it worth while to search out his errors. Examples of his prose translation can be seen in the appendices of the *Life of Cicero*. The prose is vigorous and smooth and shows on the whole a nice appreciation of both English and Latin idiom. Two brief samples of his verse translation are given in the *Autobiography* (Chap. XIX). One of them, an imitation of Horace's *vixi puellis* (Odes 3.26.1-4) because of the choice of metaphor may well be quoted:

I've lived about the covert side,
I've ridden straight, and ridden fast:
Now breeches, boots, and scarlet pride
Are but mementoes of the past.

He tells us also that he was able to write Latin creditably (*Autobiography*, Chap. I), and in a letter to George Eliot after his trip to Iceland he suggests that he had been able to converse with the natives just as Lord Dufferin had done before him: "How I fared in Iceland and was driven to talk Latin to my guide . . . you may see in the *Fortnightly*" (quoted by Michael Sadleir, *Trollope, a Commentary*, London 1927, 318). In the article itself (30, 1878, 175-90), Trollope does not describe himself as actually talking Latin, merely observing that the conversation with his guide was about Horace and Cicero. Lord Dufferin in his *Letters from High Latitudes* (Chap. VI) had said that he used Latin in Iceland as a third language, when French and English failed.

For his knowledge of Greek there is much less evidence, and that is mostly negative. John Eames after being turned down by Lily Dale for the final time resolved to find consolation in an intensive study of Greek literature, but changed his mind when he discovered that he had forgotten everything but the alphabet. If Sadleir is right that the character of John Eames is modelled after Trollope himself (Trollope, 115), the incident is very suggestive, for Trollope never speaks of reading Greek, as he so often does of reading Latin. Once a critic attacked him in the pages of the *Contemporary Review* (2, 1866, 240ff.) for a series of sketches he had written called *Clergymen of the Church of England*. In them, as in the *Barsetshire* novels, he had treated the clergy as no different from any other professional group and seemed not to show the respect due their high calling. The wrathful critic, himself a dean, charged Trollope with ignorance, irreverence and a deliberate attempt to mislead; and, as a final blow, accused him of not knowing Greek. In

referring to the incident (*Autobiography*, Chap. XI), Trollope leaves the question unanswered: "That charge," he says, "has been made not unfrequently by those who have felt themselves strong in that pride-producing language. It is much to read Greek with ease, but it is not disgraceful to be unable to do so. To pretend to read it without being able, that is disgraceful."

It is clear, at any rate, that he at least went farther than the alphabet before publishing his *Life of Cicero*, since he drew part of his material from Greek sources, and in the notes he quotes Greek either in the original or in what is obviously his own translation. One of his reviewers, however, accused him of not understanding what he quoted (*Spectator* 54, March 12, 1881, 353, on a quotation, American edition 1.18, from *Dio* 46.18.6): "For our author's Greek, we take the quotation from *Dio Cassius* which, he tells us, is so foul-mouthed that it can only be inserted under the veil of his own language. Mr. Trollope has darkened the veil by misprinting the passage, but it is easy to see that he cannot translate it and that it is by no means so foul-mouthed as he supposes."

Perhaps the most interesting thing about Trollope's classical knowledge is that it was almost wholly acquired after he left school. It is sometimes assumed today that in the nineteenth century the quality of teaching in the English public schools was uniformly high and that the average boy, though he might come away without having read Shakespeare and ignorant of the multiplication tables, was at least thoroughly grounded in Latin and Greek. Such an assumption is false; the Latin and Greek were there to be learned, but only a small proportion of the boys ever learned them. Minchin in *Our Public Schools* (London 1901, 23, 151) says that a boy could come out of Harrow hardly able to construe the *Anabasis* and unable to read a page of Cicero. And "Paterfamilias" says in 1860 that for one pupil who left Harchester a fair scholar, twelve left it with scarcely any education at all. Such was Trollope's case. For twelve years, which were, with the exception of a short period at Sunbury Academy, all spent at Harrow and Winchester, no attempt was made to teach him anything but Latin and Greek. And yet when he left Harrow at nineteen he felt that the time had been all but wasted. "I do not remember," says the *Autobiography* (Chap. I), "that I ever knew a lesson!"

Trollope's education in the classics was actually begun long before he went to school. When he was scarcely more than a baby, his father set him to learning the Greek alphabet and the rules of Latin grammar. And every morning at six, while the elder Trollope was shaving, young Anthony posted himself near by for recitation, with his head inclined forward so that in case he made a mistake his father could pull his hair without stopping his shaving. The hair-pulling was not

intended for a punishment but simply a warning that he was off the track. Anthony's brother (Thomas Adolphus Trollope, *What I Remember*, New York 1888, Chap. II) says that their father, in spite of his dour temper, never caned, whipped, beat or struck any of the children. Anthony agreed that his father never punished him, but said that he sometimes got into such a passion over his failure to learn that he knocked him down with a folio Bible (*Autobiography*, Chap. I).

At seven he was sent as a day boy to Harrow, where, because of his poverty, his awkwardness and his seeming stupidity, he was made miserable by boys and masters alike. His wretchedness continued when he was transferred to Winchester, nor did it cease when at sixteen he returned to Harrow. In the *Autobiography* he paints an unforgettable picture of the life of a sensitive boy in one of the great public schools of the 1820's. Supplementary material can be found in an article on the public schools which he contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* in August 1865 (2.476-87). In addition to a number of good anecdotes, it contains interesting remarks about the curriculum and teaching methods of the period. At Winchester the actual instruction was in the hands of the older boys, who were called prefects. The masters merely listened to the final recitation and saw that those who recited well made their way toward the head of the class and those who recited badly, toward the foot. Outside of this supervision, the duties of the masters were limited. Trollope says: "They scourged us, one at the one end of the school twice a day and the other at the other end thrice a day!"

The prefects, supposed to do the actual teaching, contrived "by counsel and by cudgels" to make the boys write a certain number of Latin verses and learn as many lines of Greek and Latin as their memories could retain. In Trollope's day there were boys at Winchester who could repeat by heart all the *Aeneid* and the *Odes* of Horace, four books of the *Iliad* and four of the *Odyssey*. "Alas me," he says, "how easy it is to forget an *Aeneid* and how hard to learn one!"

At Harrow, where Trollope on returning found himself in the sixth form, the Greek read was Thucydides, Pindar, and the dramatists; the Latin was Juvenal and Persius or authors of similar difficulty. Occasionally, easy authors like Homer and Herodotus were read for their charm. They did not use the prefect system at Harrow, but the preparation was in the hands of other masters than those who heard the recitations. In this capacity they were called tutors, and every teacher was both a master and a tutor to different boys. Since there was only one tutor for forty or more boys, the preparation was nothing more than a preliminary recitation which, Trollope says, "was the quickest possible gobble of construing." Only those who could recite were called on; precocious boys were pushed rapidly on, while the student of average ability received no instruction whatever.

The same process¹² was repeated at the recitation period. There were a few boys who at eighteen could really master Thucydides or Juvenal. "These boys," Trollope says, "it was of course the delight of the headmaster to call upon for an exercise of their skill in construing. That he very rarely, almost never, called upon me, who was certain to fail, I impute to him as no blame. When I failed, what could he do? What he did do was to undergo a look of irrepressible, unutterable misery at the disgrace which I brought upon his sixth form, and bid me sit down with a voice of woe!"

Trollope's schooldays were marked by no success in scholarship or elsewhere and lightened by neither sympathy nor understanding. If after such an experience he had never again returned to classical studies he could not have been blamed. The fact that he did return to them and that he succeeded in learning and enjoying what his masters had failed in teaching seems to me of great importance for the understanding of his subsequent career. His genius, so unexpected and so late in flowering, was almost wholly his own creation. It is true that in his mother he had an example of the profit to be gained from exploitation of a literary talent and under her influence developed a taste for modern history and literature and learned to express himself clearly in writing. But in his early years he seemed weighed down by a sense of his own idleness and worthlessness that prevented him from putting his talent to account. The typically English figure of clubman, Civil Servant, and joyous rider-to-hounds could scarcely have been foreseen in the overgrown, shabbily dressed schoolboy skulking through the streets of Harrow. Nor could anyone have guessed that the untidy, unpunctual clerk would ever become the successful novelist whose strict habits of composition were to produce an income that would enable him to live as a gentleman. His biographers have been perplexed to explain the transition from failure to success. Should it not be dated from the period in his London life when he overcame difficulties which at school had seemed insurmountable and by his own efforts mastered the language of Cicero and Horace? His classical achievements were always a source of satisfaction to him and at this time may well have supplied the confidence in his own powers that he needed in order to fashion a successful career.

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¹²W. E. Fearon, testifying before the Royal Commission in 1862, said that boys at Winchester often learned as many as 7000 lines of Latin verse, though he knew of none who could actually recite the whole *Aeneid* (Report of the Public Schools Commission 3.373). Cf. Cornhill 1 (1860) 609. Edward Thring, whose *Education and School* appeared about the same time as Trollope's article, devoted his life to proving that Latin and Greek best prepared for life not only the brilliant, but even the stupid boy.

ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

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ART. ARCHAEOLOGY

COOK, GODFREY G. *Sculptures in Beane Institute, Canterbury*. Brief notes on a small marble relief from Adrianople, a small relief from Prusa, Bithynia, and a small terracotta representing the dragging of Hector's body around the walls of Troy. Ill.

JHS 61 (1941) 39-40

(Ridington)

GARSTANG, JOHN. *The Discoveries at Mersin and their Significance*. This site, twenty-five miles west of Tarsus, controlled the trade route by the easiest of the passes through Tarsus, and was inhabited from neolithic times. Less than half of the mound has so far been excavated, but soundings and cutting of sections make possible a history of the site. Sixteen levels have been excavated, of which the five oldest belong to the Chalcolithic Ages. Especially noteworthy are the defensive works of Level XVI, dating from about 3500 B.C. Ceramic evidence, from Level XII, of contact with neolithic Macedonia establishes a cultural and chronological link between predynastic Babylonia and prehistoric Europe. In the late Bronze Age the site was under Hittite domination (Levels VII-V, ca. 1450-1200 B.C.). There is no evidence of occupation between the fourth century B.C. and the eighth century A.D. Ill.

AJA 47 (1943) 1-14

(Walton)

PARSONS, ARTHUR W. *Klepsydra and the Paved Court of the Pythion*. Traces the history of the fountain and Court from Neolithic times to the present. Klepsydra, originally called Empedo, was used by residents of Athens almost continuously from the late Neolithic period. The name Empedo belonged also to the nymph of the fountain, which was the center of the cult of the nymphs that existed on the northwest slope of the Acropolis. After the Persian Wars, as a part of the rebuilding program, a springhouse was built "deep in a natural cave which closed it (the spring) in at east and south, and formed its roof." Soon after Sulla's time part of the roof of the cave fell in, but repairs were made sufficient to allow the continued use of the springhouse. In the middle of the first century A.D. falling masses of rock did even greater damage, which was apparently considered irreparable; the water was, however, still accessible. At the end of the second century A.D. the springhouse now standing was constructed, with a stairway connecting it with the Acropolis. The old springhouse was entirely closed up, and Klepsydra was hidden; and the spring was accessible only from the Acropolis. The "Wall of Valerian" shut off the wellhouse more effectively than ever. Much later, cisterns were built lower down to catch the overflow. About the tenth or eleventh century the wellhouse was consecrated as a chapel of the Holy Apostles. In the thirteenth century the Franks built extensive fortifications hereabouts, using material from the "Valerian Wall"; but their work had disappeared before the end of the seventeenth. The Turks constructed fountains here on two occasions. During the Greek War of Independence Odysseus Pittakis, under orders from army officers, sought and found the spring, and built the "Bastion of Odysseus," protecting it and insuring a water supply to the defenders of the Acropolis.

The Paved Court lying beside it was built shortly after the Persian Wars, apparently by Kimon, and

seems to have been part of the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo, probably serving as a "kind of pompeion, or a place of preparation, for the great religious procession to Delphi, the Pythais." The damage to Klepsydra in the first Christian century, closing the old approach, made it necessary to enter the wellhouse by way of the Paved Court; the priests therefore built a transverse wall across the middle, allowing the public to use the west end, and reserving the east for the god. It went out of use about the end of the second century, and by the end of the third, when the "Valerian Wall" was built, nearly a meter of debris had accumulated on it. From that time on it was unknown until it was uncovered in these excavations. Ill.

Hesperia 12 (1943) 191-267

(Durham)

ROBINSON, HENRY S. *The Tower of the Winds and the Roman Market-Place*. The Horologion, or Tower of the Winds, served as a public time-piece for the city of Athens. In addition to a weather-vane and the eight elaborate sundials on the exterior, there seem to have been also a water-clock and a weather-vane within. As befits such a building, it was accessible at all times, and there is evidence to show that the northwest door (the one now regularly used by visitors) was kept closed, the northeast door always open. The date of the Horologion cannot be fixed within more accurate limits than the years 100 and 37 B.C., but probability favors a date in the second half of the century.

Of the adjacent market-place only the western gateway, dedicated to Athena Archegetis, can be dated accurately. It was built with funds contributed by Julius Caesar, but was not dedicated until 11/10 or 10/9. It is demonstrably later than the market proper, which was perhaps built in late Hellenistic or early Roman times, and merely embellished by the Dictator. The interior colonnades, the eastern gate, and a building with arched façade south of the Horologion are of one period. They cannot be earlier than 42 A.D. and may be Hadrianic. This building is not the Agoranomion, which was built in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and is perhaps to be identified with the small building to the east of the Horologion. Ill.

AJA 47 (1943) 291-305

(Walton)

SOPER III, ALEXANDER. *The Brescia Casket. A Problem in Late Antique Perspective*. The central scene of this ivory reliquary of the late fourth century depicts Christ and a group of disciples in a small building with arched roof and twin towers. Strzygowski identified this as a Christian basilica of a type found, at that date, only in the Near East. This identification has been disputed by Kollwitz. Soper now concludes that "it stands as an independent building of any sort only by a kind of accident of representation." The miniatures of the Vatican Vergil reveal the application of linear perspective to realistic room interiors, although in a fashion which is already decadent. The scene of Aeneas' dream is particularly close to that on the Casket: there are the same columns at the angles of the room, the window above, and the vaulted ceiling. But on the Casket, the side walls do not come forward, but recede. The building has thus been turned inside out, and the lunette which had been at the rear now marks the façade. The towers are added to compensate for the lack of a definite border, now that the scene is no longer isolated on a codex page. The same formula, the vault-plus-tower design, may be found occasionally in Carolingian art, and seems to have been a standardized, if infrequent, element in the early Christian repertory of architectural backgrounds. Ill.

AJA 47 (1943) 278-90

(Walton)